## EXHIBIT S – Part 2

Complete Deposition of Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere

- 1 **A.** I didn't know that.
- Q. I think he would stipulate to that. Do
- you know that there was another group of
- 4 | Plaintiffs where the lead Plaintiff was the
- 5 North Carolina NAACP?
- 6 A. I don't know specifics on the case, no.
- 7 Q. Okay. Did you look at any of the
- 8 testimony from that case?
- ) A. No.
- 10 Q. Let me get a little more specific. Did
- 11 you look at any of the trial testimony from
- 12 that case?
- 13 **A.** No.
- 14 | Q. Did you look at any of the deposition
- 15 | testimony from that case?
- 16 A. Did I look at any deposition testimony?
- 17 | I don't recall.
- 18 | Q. Okay. Do you know an expert witness and
- 19 professor named Ted Arrington?
- 20 A. I know the name, but I've never met him.
- 21 Q. Okay. And do you know whether he gave a
- deposition in the Dixon case or not?
- 23 A. I don't know for sure.
- Q. Okay. Do you know an expert witness
- 25 | named David Peterson?

- 1 A. I know the name because people have
- 2 | mentioned him -- Mr. Speas has mentioned him in
- 3 | relationship to this case, and I've seen his
- 4 name from prior cases in North Carolina.
- 5 Q. Did you read any of the testimony that
- 6 he gave in the Dixon case?
- $^{7}$  **A.** No.
- 8 Q. All right. Did you read any of the
- 9 testimony that was given by the legislative
- 10 leaders in the Dixon case?
- 11 A. No.
- 12 Q. Did you read any of the affidavit
- testimony or deposition testimony given by any
- of the legislative staff in the Dixon case?
- 15 **A.** No.
- 16 | Q. Did you read the opinion -- there's been
- 17 | an opinion by a three-judge state court in that
- 18 case. Have you read that opinion?
- 19 A. I believe I did read that.
- 20 **Q.** Okay.
- 21 A. This is one of these points where I
- 22 | think, did I read that? I taught four courses
- this semester, so I'm little --
- 24 | Q. That's all right. I forget who I had
- lunch with last week, so you just do the best

you can.

Do you recall anything about that opinion?

- A. Not in particular.
- Q. Do you recall any findings or rulings by
- the court in that case about whether race was
- 6 the predominant motive in the construction of
- 7 the 2011 Twelfth Congressional District?
- 8 A. I think I was told by -- no, I don't
- 9 remember reading it. I think I was told in a
- 10 conversation by my friend Nate Pursely who is
- an election lawyer about that case, but I don't
- 12 remember reading it.
- 13 | Q. Did you know that was a decision by a
- 14 | three-judge trial court?
- 15 A. I didn't know the composition of the
- 16 court.
- 17 Q. Unh-hunh (yes). Did you know that they
- made findings of fact after there was a trial
- 19 in the case?
- 20 A. After -- as part of the decision?
- 21 Q. Unh-hunh (yes).
- A. Just from what was mentioned to me, yeah.
- 23 Q. Okay. But you don't recall reviewing
- 24 that?
- 25 A. I don't recall reviewing it.

- 1 Q. Okay. Did you look at -- you're aware,
- I'm sure, Professor, that there's been a long
- 3 history of litigation associated with the First
- 4 and the Twelfth Congressional Districts in
- 5 | North Carolina?
- 6 A. I'm aware of that.
  - Q. As a Professor of Government, you're, I'm
- 8 | sure, aware of that?
- A. Yes.
- 10 Q. Have you studied any -- for purposes of
- this case, have you studied any of the prior
- versions of the First or the Twelfth
- 13 | Congressional Districts?
- 14 A. Not -- not before the 2001 and 2011
- 15 districts. I am familiar with cases such as
- 16 | Shaw v. Reno and Thornburg versus Gingles.
- 17 O. I understand.
- 18 A. Yeah, they are very important cases.
- 19 Q. But for purposes of this case, did you
- 20 go back and look at any of the prior versions
- of the First or the Twelfth District starting
- 22 | in 1991 up to 2001?
- 23 A. You know, I might have re-read Shaw v.
- 24 Reno. I was teaching a course on election law
- this semester, and we taught Shaw v. Reno and

Thornburg versus Gingles in the context of
that. So, I've -- I've read them, but it was
not expressly for this purpose.

- Q. Okay. Did you go back -- did you do a VTD analysis on any of the prior plans?
- A. No.
- 7 Q. Okay. I should have asked that earlier.
- 8 I'm sorry.
- <sup>9</sup> **A.** Okay.
- of your report, and I want to get you to -first of all, I think I want to talk with you
  about compactness since that's the first thing
  in your report.
- 15 A. Unh-hunh (yes).
- 16 Q. How do you define compactness?
- 17 Compactness is a description of how spread out a district is relative to an ideal 18 district. And an ideal district is defined in 20 different ways, depending on geography, but the most -- the way it's often defined is take the 21 22 most compact shape, which is a circle; and 23 consider the area or perimeter of this district 24 relative to area or perimeter of the most compact shape. That would be one way to think 25

about it.

The Reock score is take the area of the

-- the smallest circle in which the district is

inscribed and put the district in, and measure

the area of the district itself and the area of

that smallest circle. So, that's one specific

definition of a measure of the compactness.

- Q. Was that -- so, did you just describe one definition of compactness or two?
- A. One definition and one definition of a measure.
- 12 **Q.** Okay.
- 13 A. I didn't know what you -- if you wanted 14 the concept or the measure.
- Q. The Reock test is based upon the concept you described?
- 17 A. Yes.
- Q. Okay. Got that. Is there any sort of legal definition for compactness that's been adopted by a court?
- 21 A. The courts -- my understanding -- I'm
  22 not a lawyer. My understanding of what the
  23 courts have used was a bit of we know it when
  24 we see it as a standard, and there's not a -25 there's not a specific bright-line threshold

like, you know, maybe with majority/minority
districting, 50 percent is the number. I just
know specific bright-line for compactness.

- Q. Okay. So, if I say to you there's no judicially manageable standard for determining when a district is legally compact, would you agree with that?
- 8 A. That's a legal opinion.
  - Q. Okay.

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- A. I don't know if -- I don't know if the

  standards that have evolved in existing cases

  are -- I mean, it's up to the judges to decide

  if it's manageable.
- Q. Well, you've read the cases -- you're read a lot of cases that --
- A. Yeah. I mean, I think -- my reading of

  Shaw, it was my understanding that they had a

  sense that, you know, when it's -- you know,

  that they would develop it or come up with it.

For me, compactness is not so much -- and other geographic features of districts are not so much a kind of bright-line test of this is acceptable or this is not acceptable. It's more of a red flag, and just says, okay, something is going on here. This district is

really narrow, or this district swings around back on top of itself.

And the compactness score gives you a quantitative measure of how much this district does it compared to other districts in, say, a state or in the whole nation; how much it did it compared to previous versions of the district. It's just more of a red flag; and, you know, we need to look now more closely at this.

- Q. Okay. And, again, I'll -- I'll get off of this after I ask this question. Are you aware of any legal standards that can define when a district is legally compact versus not legally compact?
- A. Not that I know of beyond the most subjective assessment.
- Q. Okay.

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MR. FARR: Does anyone want to take a break? Let's take a short break.

(SHORT BREAK 1:40 - 1:50 P. M.)

Q. (Mr. Farr) Professor, I'm going to ask you some questions about your compactness conclusions and -- and -- and so, you might want to get your finger on page 4 and wherever

Table 1 is.

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- A. (Peruses document.) Okay.
- Q. On page 4, you say that the Rucho-Lewis reduced substantially the compactness of Congressional Districts 1 and 12.

What I wanted to know is what -- how do you define -- or what do you mean by "reduced substantially"?

A. So, there's a -- a numerical reduction in the Reock measure and the area to perimeter measure. The area to perimeter measure is you calculate the area of the -- of the district and then calculate the perimeter of the total miles around.

And then take the ratio of those two.

They're different scores. They measure

slightly different aspects of compactness of
the districts.

And what I mean is that there was a substantial, noticeable, meaningful reduction in compactness according to either one of those measures.

- Q. Okay. So, I -- I want to try to put that in context. I'm looking at your Table 1.
  - A. Unh-hunh (yes).

Page 72 And you stated that the Reock score under the 2001 plan for District 1 was .390? Correct. And the Reock score under the 2011 plan was .294? Correct. So, if you subtract that, what's the 7 difference? Point one, roughly. I mean, there's --10 .096. 11 It would be -- right, 096. And that's, like -- what -- so, what would be an 12 insubstantial difference? 14 So, one way to think about Reock is it's a ratio -- the ratio of -- if you had a perfectly compacted district, and it was a 16 17 circle, it would be one. 18 Unh-hunh (yes). 19 And so, if you had a square -- because you can't fit circles all over the State, but 20 you might be able to fit squares -- it would be 21 22 about .65, roughly. 23 Unh-hunh (yes). And so, that might be a good starting 25 point to take. It's like, okay, that's, like

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Page 73
    -- as compacted of districts as we see are
    typically around .65 around maps in the United
    States.
          So, if you take .65 as the base line,
    just sort of hypothetically, how much -- what
    percentage reduction is that? That's a pretty
    substantial reduction.
           It's about a 12 percent reduction from
    that right at .096 over .65 -- somewhere around
10
    12 percent.
          Okay. What -- like, it is was a -- if
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    it was a .01 reduction, would that be
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    substantial?
          Point 01?
          Unh-hunh (yes), .01.
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          I -- I don't -- I don't think so. But
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    it depends on what the base line is. As you
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    get down to the --
          What do you mean by base line?
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          What the -- when you get very -- when
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    you -- when you get down to highly non-compact
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    districts, beca- -- well, I should say the
23
    limit.
           As you -- as you get down to -- a
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    district that is a -- got a Reock score of .02,
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Page 74 a reduction to .01 would be a fif- -- 50 percent reduction in the compactness. If you think about geometrically what must happen to that district to go from .02, which is already, like, extremely non-compact, to .01, it's got to get stretched out a whole lot more and bent around and contorted. So, it depends a little bit on -- on the ex- -- extreme values. At the extreme values, 10 it becomes harder and harder to -- now, the re--- the reductions -- percentage reductions are 11 -- are, kind of, more substantial. Like, what if you had a district that 13 had a .32 Reock score, and the new district was 14 .29. That would give you a difference of .03. 15 Would that be substantial? 16 17 Probably not. Okay. And then have you referred to any 18 scholarly literature on -- on compactness? Or 20 articles? Not in this report, I didn't refer to 21 22 any of it. But there is scholarly literature 23 on it. Have you ever re- -- referred to scholarly

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literature on compactness in your studies?

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A. Yes.

that.

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- Q. Do you remember any of the literature that you referred to?
- A. I really like Micah Altman's Ph.D.

  dissertation and the articles that came out of
- Q. Are you familiar with an article by Niemi
  and Plides?
- 9 A. Niemi and Plides, I've -- Reock's

  10 original article is a -- that -- that original

  11 article is one of the standard articles on how

  12 do you do compactness, and how he derived that

  13 specific measure.

Gudgeon and Taylor's book on political geography -- there's a big literature -- I've read a lot of -- is there something in particular you're thinking of?

- Q. No, I'm just trying to see which ones
  you rely upon.
- 20 **A.** Oh, okay.
- Q. And so, is Niemi and Plides -- is that
- 22 -- how would you rate that? Is that
- 23 authoritative on compactness or --?
  - A. It's -- it's quite good. I -- you know,
- 25 Reock's article is taken as one of the

- authoritative pieces on compactness.
  - Q. Whose article?
- A. Reock, the person who generated this report, yeah.
- 5 Q. Okay. Okay. And -- but Niemi and
- 6 Plides, how would you rate that?
- 7 A. I think it's a good, you know, further
- 8 application and -- and examination of the
- 9 concept and its application in this domain.
- 10 | Q. Okay. Did you know Dr. Hofeller, who's
- our expert, was one of the authors of that
- 12 report?
- 13 A. I did know that.
- 14 Q. Okay. Okay. Now, your second
- compactness test, which is ratio, area to
- 16 perimeter of district?
- 17 A. Unh-hunh (yes).
- 18 | Q. Is that a -- a test that's referred to
- in the literature? Or is that -- is that
- something that you've come up with?
- 21 A. This is actually standard. It's in the
- 22 | literature. Maptitude produces it as part of
- 23 | its other -- other -- ArcGIS produces this.
- Q. Okay. Does it have a name?
- A. I'm not sure. I've -- I've seen it in

Page 77 different reports and different studies with different names. So, I don't know if there's a standard name that's commonly used. And also different literatures -- and so, we're dealing literature on geography, literature on political science. And they use different names for the different scores. Okay. And so, turning -- looking at the Table 2, based upon your calculations --10 11 Table -- Table 2? Excuse me, Table 1, my apologies. Is it 12 correct that the Rucho-Lewis 3 First District 14 has a more compact Reock score than the Twelfth 15 District under the 2001 Congressional Plan? 16 The Rucho-Lewis -- which one? The --17 Rucho-Lewis --? Rucho-Lewis 1 has a -- has a -- has a 18 19 more compact Reock score than the Twelfth District under the 2001 plan? 21 Correct. And the Rucho-Lewis District 1 has a more 22 compact score than District 13 under the 2001 2.3 24 plan? 25 Correct.

Page 78 And -- and that's also true for Rucho-Lewis District 3 as compared to the 2001 Twelfth and Thirteenth Districts under your --So ---- ratio of area to perimeter of district test, right? Oh, so, are we looking at ratio/perimeter or Reock? Yes. 10 And it's 3 versus --? I'm comparing -- I'm comparing Q. Congressional District 1 under Rucho-Lewis --12 Unh-hunh (yes). 14 -- under the ratio of area to perimeter. I'm comparing it first to District 12. And would you -- District 12 under the 2001 plan. 16 Would you agree that the -- the 2011 version of 17 18 the First District is -- is more compact under 19 the ratio of area to perimeter test as compared to the 2001 version of District 12? 20 2.1 Correct. 22 And it's also more compact than the District 13 under the 2001 Congressional Plan? 23 24 Correct. 25 Okay. Do -- do you know -- now on Table

1 -- we've talked about the fact that the First District under the 2001 plan has got this Reock score .390 versus .294 under the Rucho-Lewis 3 plan.

Do you -- can you explain why that difference arose?

- A. The -- the district boundaries were

  shifted; and shifted in such a way that the -
  I think what happened -- if I'm recalling the

  maps specifically, I think what happened is the

  district extended westward.
  - Q. Unh-hunh (yes).

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- A. I -- I think that extension creates some

  of the -- but I'd have to go back and look at

  the exact map and overlay it with the circle to

  see exactly where the inscribed circle is

  pushed out.
- Q. Okay. Are you aware of the fact that
  the First District under the 2001 plan under
  the 2010 census was underpopulated by 97,000
  people?
- 22 A. That's correct.
- Q. Okay. Could that explain why the boundaries needed to change?
  - A. Yes, the boundaries would have to change

- to capture another 97,000 people.
- Q. Okay. Have you prepared a map showing
- how they could have changed the boundaries for
- 4 | the First District and achieved a Reock score
- 5 that was closer to the 2001 First District?
- 6 A. No, I have not.
- 7 Q. Have you prepared a map to show how the
- 8 | First District -- the 2011 First District would
- 9 have been drawn to achieve a more compact Reock
- score while also achieving the political goals
- 11 of the General Assembly when they enacted the
- 2011 Congressional Plan?
- 13 A. No, I have not.
- 14 Q. Okay. And let's go to District 12 for a
- second. So, I -- I can see that the 2001 plan
- has a Reock score that is higher on the
- 17 | compactness scale than the 2011 version.
- Do you know why that happened?
- 19 **A.** Do you mean District 12?
- 20 Q. Yes, sir. Do you --
- 21 A. Do you mean lower on --
- 22 Q. Yes, sir, I meant lower.
- 23 **A.** Okay.
- 24 | Q. The -- the new district is lower on the
- Reock score. Do you know why that happened?

Page 81 It looks like the district extended -- if I recall the boundaries specifically, I think the district extend--- extended northward somewhat. So, it's elong- -- elongating --Q. Right. -- further, so it's losing its -- it's losing its area --Unh-hunh (yes). -- as it stretches north. So, it's 10 losing its area. That's my recollection of the 12 geometry of the district. Exactly right. So, the longer the 13 14 district is, the lower the Reock score is going 15 to be? 16 Unh-hunh (yes). 17 Is that -- you need to say yes or no. 18 Yes, that's right. Okay. Did you look at any of the 19 20 legislative testimony or evidence presented at trial regarding why District 12 was elongated? 21 22 No, I did not. 23 Okay. Have you prepared any maps showing how the legislature could accomplish 24 its political goals for District 12 and the

2011 Congressional Plan by drawing a different version of District 12 with a more -- with a

higher Reock score?

- A. No, I have not.
- **Q.** Okay. And, you know, the answers you
- 6 just gave about the Reock score as far as, you
- 7 know, under the area to perimeter test, have
- 8 you prepared any maps showing how the 2011
- 9 First District could have scored better under
- the area to perimeter test while also achieving
- the political goals of the General Assembly?
- 12 A. No, I have not.
- 13 Q. And have you drawn any maps showing how
- 14 District 12 could have been drawn in 2011 with
- 15 | a -- a better score under the area to perimeter
- test while also achieving the legitimate
- political goals of the General Assembly?
- 18 A. No, I have not.
- 19 Q. Okay. Thanks. I'm going to skip your
- 20 testimony about the split counties, since that
- 21 -- I think that speaks for itself.
- So, I just want to ask you a few more
- questions about compactness, I guess. When you
- 24 say Congressional District 12 is highly
- 25 non-compact, what does that mean?

Page 83 I'm sorry, what -- which paragraph are we on? I'm sorry, yes, sir, I'm on paragraph 15. (Reads paragraph 15) Which line -- so, "CD 12 is highly non-compact"? 5 It says -- yes, I just want to know what you meant by that. That -- that is based on my judgement having looked at a lot of maps and looked at 10 various compactness scores across maps. 11 And also, there is a rule of thumb with Reock scores that's emerged that Reock below .2 12 is viewed -- viewed as, sort of, having, kind 13 of, a fairly low compactness. 14 And a- -- and above .2 is not -- is not 16 viewed as having low compactness? Yes, not -- people don't, like, "Oh, 17 that's a really low -- that -- what's going on 18 19 there?" They don't think above .2 is -- that's just a rule of thumb. 20 21 Okay.

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There's no -- as far as I know, there's no statistical property associated with Reock scores, yet, though, I think, some geographers are trying to work on that issue using

Page 84 simulations. Unh-hunh (yes). Because you don't know what the sam- -what the sample of possible districts would be. And I know that John Rhoden and Joey Chan at Stanford and Michigan have been working on a simulation based method of trying to understand compactness, but --. Okay. All right. Have you -- in your 10 studies and your work you've done, have you 11 seen any districts that have got lower, or 12 comparable Reock scores as the 2011 version of the North Carolina Twelfth Congressional 13 District? I -- CD 5 in Florida had -- is about the 15 16 same. Is that a majority black district that's 17 18 19 That's one of the disputed questions, 20 whether it is majority black. What's -- do you know what the racial 21

A. It is not majority -- well, the prior -the -- the version -- I think it was called -numbered CD 3 was not majority black.

composition is of that district?

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And they altered the district to make it majority black VAP, but it's not majority black citizen VAP.
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- Q. Okay. Good -- well, that's -- that's okay. Was that the district adopted by the State of Florida for -- for Section 2 reasons or Voting Rights Act reasons? Do you know?
- A. That was -- I don't know what their

  motivation was. It was adopted under this new

  constitutional provision where they'd have to

  get pre-clearance from the State Supreme Court

  and so forth.

So, I -- that -- my --.

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- Q. Okay. You just don't know what their motivation was?
- A. To get it past the various screens that they would have to pass at the state level and possibly the federal level.
- Q. Okay. All right. Okay, but it -- it's
- A. It's not a Section 5 covered county. It

  doesn't -- I don't -- yeah, I don't think it

  intersected with any of the Section 5 covered

  districts -- counties in the state.

So, it was not a Section 5 question. It

- was a -- it might have been a Section 2
- <sup>2</sup> question.
  - Q. Okay.
- A. But then there's a Section 2 question,
- 5 which is whether or not -- if the district is
- 6 not majority black VAP, you have to create a
- 7 | majority black VAP.
- 8 So, that's, I think, what the -- part of
- <sup>9</sup> the question is that they're grappling with
- 10 right now in the courts.
- 11 **Q.** Okay.
- 12 A. And the Florida Constitution has explicit
- compactness criteria that they're trying to
- 14 | figure out what the standard is, so --.
- Do you know the -- do you know anything
- about the history of that district in Florida?
- 17 A. A little bit of it.
- 18 Q. Has it -- has it -- has it, kind of, had
- the same configuration for more than one cycle?
- 20 A. It's -- it -- it moved. I'm trying to
- 21 | remember where it moved, what -- what --
- 22 exactly what decade it moved in.
- Q. And are you a witness in that case?
- 24 **A.** I am.

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Q. Are you familiar with the parties in that

- case?
- A. A bit.
- Q. Is the NAACP a party in that case?
- 4 A. They are. There's a set of Plaintiffs
- 5 | called the Coalition Plaintiffs. And I think
- the NAACP is part of the Coalition Plaintiffs.
- 7 | Q. Do you know who their counsel are in
- 8 that case?
- 9 A. I don't remember the names. I think
- they've been mentioned to me on the phone, but
- 11 I don't --.
- 12 Q. Does the Southern Coalition for Social
- 13 | Justice ring a bell?
- 14 A. I've heard the name. I don't know if
- they're involved in that.
- 16 Q. Okay. Are those Plaintiffs defending that
- 17 district?
- 18 A. I am not sure. I'm just -- deal with my
- 19 counsel and the questions that they raise with
- 20 | me. I'm not --.
- 21 Q. Okay. You can't answer if you don't
- know.
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. Okay. Now, let's turn to the racial
- 25 compositions of districts, which starts on page

Page 88 8, paragraph 18. Okay. When you say there were no majority black districts under the 2001-2011 Map, you're referring to what I call the 2001 Congressional plan? Is that the same thing? I believe that is. Okay. And what did you mean by no majority black districts? No majority black VAP districts. is, none of the districts had -- were districts 1.0 11 in which a majority of the voting age population were black, according to census. 12 Okay. But then you also say that the 13 14 First District was majority black as to registered voters? 15 16 Correct. Okay. And did you look to see if the --17 if either the First or the Twelfth District were majority non-hispanic white districts? 19 Majority non-hispanic white districts? 20 21 I'm trying to remember if I did a -- I don't 22 remember looking at the -- but -- whether either of them was a coalitional district. 24 Okay. If they were -- if the -- if the

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-- under the 2010 census, if the First -- if

the 2001 First and Twelfth Congressional

Districts were non-majority or non-hispanic

white minority districts --

- A. Unh-hunh (yes).
- 5 Q. -- would that then potentially make them
- 6 into a coalition district similar to what you
- 7 talked about in Texas?
- 8 A. Potentially. There'd have to be a
- 9 separate analysis of the voting behavior of the
- 10 hispanics and the blacks in the area; whether
- they vote together in the general elections
- with sufficient cohesion, and the whites in
- those areas vote together with sufficient
- cohesion in opposition; and whether or not the
- voting is -- behavior is sufficient that they
- can elect their -- their candidates.
- 17 Q. Okay. Now, you then say there's two
- 18 | majority black congressional districts in the
- 19 | Rucho-Lewis 3 Congressional Map in paragraph 19.
- $\mathbf{A}$ . Unh-hunh (yes).
- 21 | Q. All right. And let's look at your table
- 22 2. Now, I want to -- when you say majority
- black congressional districts, you're just
- using that to describe the percentage of the
- 25 total black voting age population in the

district?

A. Correct.

Q. Okay. All right. Turning to your section about race is a factor in the composition of the districts, one of the tests you -- you performed is -- is based upon what you described as the envelope of the district?

A. Envelope of counties, yes.

Q. Okay. The envelope of the counties that have a part of the district in -- in them?

A. Correct.

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Q. Okay. Where did you get that concept?

A. That concept I've encountered from map drawing in other contexts. The idea is -- and -- and also through a traditional districting principle of trying to respect county boundaries.

So, if you imagine there being a set of counties where there is a set of people with particular characteristics, and you think that that district ought to go in that county, then the only question is, "Okay, how exactly configured is the district within that envelope defined by the county?"

So, if I'm not going to cross additional

county boundaries and so forth -- so the basic principle of respect for county boundaries, which is a fairly common redistricting principle that goes back to the beginning of districting in the United States, is one, sort of, starting concept.

And one way of approaching a map is to take all the counties and start to draw maps with counties. This county plus this county plus this county plus this county; keeping them -- them whole to the extent possible, and then starting to split them if you're overpopulated or grabbing parts of counties if they're underpopulated.

So, it's just a -- a -- an approach to districting that's following a traditional Democratic -- a districting principle.

- Q. But you've never actually drawn a Congressional plan for a state government or a party that submitted it to the legislature?
- A. No.

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- Q. Okay. And this -- this envelope theory that you are using, has it been recognized by any courts in a case similar to this one?
- A. Well, certainly, in respect for county boundaries is -- is something that courts do

look at in thinking about districting; certainly, your Florida example, it's a state court but not federal court in that case.

- Q. Right. I got that, but what -- what --
- A. Keeping counties whole, and then imagining where the districts are situated within that. As soon as you think about keeping counties whole, then you're talking about the counties themselves being the envelope and restrict- -- and restricting the districting within that.

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So, it is a principle that comes out of a lineage. In terms of the specific approach to how you define the sub-population that you'd study in terms of assessing a particular district, there are some analyses that look at specific subsets of states where the counties in that subset of states -- or -- or some parts of the states are what are -- are used, such as -- all of the -- you know, Harris County is -- is used, and then how are the districts configured within that, or the area -- the metropolitan area and how the districts are configured within that.

In terms of assessing the likelihood that

- a black voter ends up in a district, or a
- Democratic voter ends up in a district, or a
- Republican voter ends up in a district, and
- 4 looking at the envelope as the baseline, I have
- not encountered that particular analysis.
- [0.5] Q. Okay. That was my question.
- 7 A. Okay. I didn't know which part of it
- 8 you meant, like --
- Q. No, that was good.
- 10 A. -- state as the envelope or the --
- 11 Q. You're just -- you answered -- you
- answered the question I wanted to ask.
- So, using the envelope to predict or
- assess the number of Republicans or blacks that
- end up in or out of a district is not something
- you encountered before this case?
- 17 A. Not -- yeah, not explicitly that, yeah.
- 18 Q. That's not something that a court has
- 19 recognized as a way to assess the evidence in a
- 20 racial gerrymandering case?
- 21 A. Not that I know of.
- 22 Q. All right. Now, do you have a opinion
- 23 on actual voting behavior by blacks in North
- 24 Carolina versus whites in North Carolina?
  - A. I have written on that question in a

pair of articles in the Harvard Law Review.

- Q. Oh, good.
- A. It's not specifically North Carolina, but it is -- it's a -- every state in the United States. And there's an assessment of voting

It doesn't break it out into specific sub-regions within the states, and sometimes there are variations of it in sub-regions.

patterns at a statewide level.

- 10 | **Q.** Okay.
- 11 A. But the articles -- if you look at my CV

  12 -- if you -- if you don't have a copy of my

  13 CV, please email me, and I will send it through
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- Q. I'll ask Mr. Speas to send it to me.
- 16 That would be fine.
- the Eye of the Beholder -- is that right -- no,

But the articles are Voting Rights in

- no, I have three articles in the Review. So,
- there's one that's an analysis of the 2008
- election, and another is an analysis of 2012.
- 22 So, the 2012 analysis was in 2013.
- So, if you get on the Harvard Law Review website, you'll -- and I think it's April, 2013
- 25 | -- you'll -- or May issue, it'll be an article

by me, me, Nate Pursely and Charles Stewart.

And then the other article is from 2010.

And I think it's the April issue.

- Q. Okay. Well, here's what I was going to
- ask you. There's been some other expert --
- 6 | there was some expert testimony in the -- in
- 7 the Dixon case that as much as 95 percent or
- 8 higher of -- of black voters who vote tend to
- yote for the Democratic candidate?
- Is -- would you agree with that or
- 11 disagree with that?
- 12 A. I -- I'd have to go back and look at the
- numbers, but that could be.
- 14 | Q. Did you study that in -- in terms of
- whether that was true or not in North Carolina
- when you prepared your report?
- 17 | A. Not in terms of preparing this report.
- 18 | I didn't do a racial polarization or cohesion
- 19 analysis for this report.
- 20 Q. Well, I -- I wasn't -- I'm not sure --
- 21 okay. You didn't do a racial polarization
- 22 analysis. I was asking more of a political
- 23 question.
- Regardless of the race of the candidate,
- there has been testimony that blacks, whether

they're Democrats, unaffiliated or Republicans, are likely to vote for the Democratic candidate.

And the percentage is in excess of 90 percent. Have you ever evaluated or studied that?

A. I have evaluated and studied it in an academic context. I haven't done it in the context of this case. So, I haven't focused on it for that.

And the estimates that we derived are in those articles for North Carolina.

Q. Okay.

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- A. For the elections we looked at, and they were explicitly about the Obama elections.
- Q. Right. Did you -- did you ever -- do
  you have an opinion on whether there is a
  strong correlation between race and the -- in
  fact, the race of black people and how many
  black people vote for Democratic candidates in
  North Carolina?
- A. My expectation -- and you know, based loosely on my memory of that article and on North Carolina voting statistics from CBS, which I've gotten North Carolina as a race to call, is that it's fairly high.

I wouldn't be surprised if it was somewhere 90 percent plus. That tends to be the average nationwide for blacks.

They tend to vote for Democratic presidential and statewide candidates at very high rates.

- Q. And that would include registered black Democrats, registered black unaffiliated and registered black Republicans, would it not?
- A. I don't know about the sub-groups of registration.
- 12 **Q.** Okay.

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- A. We usually just look at blacks as a category and the correlation of black VAP.
- Q. Okay. And white voters are -- are much
  more split in their political affiliations when
  they vote as compared to black voters, is that
  correct?
- 19 A. That tends to be the case, though,
  20 there's -- are you referring to North Carolina?
- 21 **Q.** Yes.
- A. Yeah, my recollection is they tend to be more split.
- Q. Okay. Are -- and that would in- -- and that would include white Democrats are more

- likely to vote for a Republican candidate than a black Democrat? Would you agree with that?
- A. That, I don't know offhand. So, you're

  -- you're -- my guess is that would be likely

  the case. But it's -- like, I haven't focused

  on that analysis.
- O. You haven't worked with that?
- A. Right. The ideal data to look at for
  that would be to take, maybe, the National Exit
  Poll for North Carolina, because they have a
  pretty good sample of people as they're leaving
  the exit polls.
- Q. Okay. And would you agree the
  unaffiliated white voters are far more likely
  to vote for Republican candidates than
  unaffiliated black voters in North Carolina?

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not -- I don't -- I didn't study that

explicitly. I don't have any estimates offhand

to draw on.

That would be my -- my guess. But it's

Q. Okay. So, given that testimony, I want
you to explain to me your last sentence in
paragraph 20, where you say "If the lines were
drawn without regard to race, one would expect
that the white and black registered voters

would have approximately the same likelihood of inclusion in a given Congressional District."

- A. Unh-hunh (yes).
- Q. And explain that to me. I don't understand that at all.
- Oh, so, if you -- if you -- as a -- as an expectation, if you drew the lines without regard to race -- just arbitrarily, perhaps -so, if you were doing this exercise that my 10 colleagues John Rhoden and Joey do, where they randomly construct a district in some part of 11 the State, what would be the resulting 12 correlation between the probability that a 13 white ends up in a district and the probability a white -- a black ends up in a district, you 15 16 know, it would probably be uncorrelated.

That's what the expectation is.

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Q. Okay. What if the -- what if the individuals drawing the district were trying to draw District 12 as an extremely strong Democratic district, and the adjoining districts as strong Republican districts, would you still say that one would expect that white and black voters should be included in District 12 at the same percentages?

A. So, if you gave me that as the conjecture, then I would have to, sort of, somehow condition on party. Let's say, given the party, what's the probability.

So, it's, like, a second analysis is introduced into the report.

Q. So, you --

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- A. And that -- if it's race versus party --
- Q. Unh-hunh (yes).
- A. -- or if party is somehow a factor, then you need to do an additional analysis. That's why I did the additional analysis.

But if it was just a question of race or not race, without any -- without anything else under consideration, then that's what that sentence refers to.

- Q. All right. But does party necessarily indicate the percentage of white Democrats who vote for a Republican candidate?
- A. My experience looking at exit polls and working for CBS is that white democrats tend to vote about 80 percent with their party; maybe a little higher -- 85 percent.
- Q. In what states?
  - A. It's a general pattern around the United

1 States.

- Q. Have you studied that for North Carolina?
- A. Not explicitly. But when -- I'm trying
- 4 to remember what -- I -- I had the North
- 5 | Carolina -- I had the North Carolina Senate
- 6 | race the last time around.
- 7 I'm trying to remember what the numbers
- 8 were. They gave us a briefing book. I don't
- 9 remember what the exact numbers, but you know,
- the white Democrats will vote overwhelmingly
- 11 Democratic.
- 12 Q. But they're -- they're voting at a
- percentage that's lower than what the -- the
- 14 black Democrats are voting for the Democratic
- 15 candidate?
- 16 A. Correct. And white Republicans vote for
- 17 | Republicans at a lower rate than black
- 18 Democrats vote for Democrats.
- So, in terms of the swapping, it's -- my
- 20 | -- my guess, based on this, is white
- 21 | Republicans look like the opposite of white
- Democrats in terms of their percentage, voting
- for their -- for their party's preferred
- 24 candidates.
- 25 Q. And are un- -- unaffiliated white voters

- likely to vote for a Republican candidate at a
- higher rate than registered black Democrats?
- A. Yeah, that -- that'd be my estimate, yeah.
- 4 | Unaffiliated generally tend to split their
- votes pretty evenly, so that -- that would be
- 6 -- that would necessarily follow.
- 7 Q. Right. Well, what about un- -- would
- 8 unaffiliated white voters tend to vote for
- 9 Republicans at a higher rate than unaffiliated
- 10 black voters?
- 11 A. I don't know that one offhand, so --.
- 12 Q. You haven't looked at that?
- 13 A. I don't remember looking at that one in
- 14 particular, but --.
- 15 Q. And you've not looked at that for North
- 16 | Carolina?
- 17 A. Right. That's a -- that particular
- group is sufficiently small. It usually
- 19 doesn't show up in the exit polls.
- 20 Q. Do you know what the percentage of
- 21 | unaffiliated voters is in North Carolina?
- 22 A. I don't remember offhand.
- 23 Q. Do you know what percentage of registered
- black voters are registered as Democrats?
- A. I recall it was very high, like, 85

percent of so. I don't remember the exact

- number, but I remember it being very high.
  - O. In North Carolina?
- A. In North Carolina.
  - Q. Do you recall what -- what percentage
- 6 black voters make up of registered Democrats in
- 7 North Carolina?
- 8 A. So, what percentage of all Democrats are
- 9 black voters? I don't remember that number
- offhand.
- 11 Q. Okay. Let me ask you, so, if -- if the
- 12 -- if the lines of the district were drawn to
- 13 try to increase Democratic performance in one
- 14 | -- in District 12 --
- 15 A. Unh-hunh (yes).
- 16 Q. -- and increase Republican performance in
- the adjoining districts, would you expect that
- the percentage of whites and blacks moved in
- and out of the Twelfth District would be the
- 20 same?
- Or would -- would the percentage of
- 22 | blacks moved in be higher?
- $^{23}$  **A.** It depends on what the adjoining
- 24 | populations are and what the populations in the
- 25 district are. Because if you remove

Page 104 population, you could affect it as well as adding to it, so --Well, let's ---- it just depends on what the population is. Let's talk about North Carolina, okay, and District 12. Right. You've got three major population centers for District 12, right? 1.0 11 Unh-hunh (yes). 12 And then you've got this connecting area? 13 Correct. Okay. The -- the -- in 14 Mecklenburg County and Guilford County and 15 16 Forsyth County, is it fair to say that a high percentage of the registered Democrats in those 17 counties are African-American? 18 19 That's -- that's fair to say. I don't know what percentage it is, but it's -- I 20 remember it being high. Okay. And if you were going to increase 22 the Democratic performance of that district in those counties, would it be likely that you 24 would be adding African-American voters to

those districts if you were going to increase
the percen- -- or the performance of the

Democratic candidate in those districts?

- A. Well, that would be one strategy. You could add white Democrats, and it would increase it, because white Democrats are voting for Democrats at higher than 50 percent. You could --.
- Q. Yes, but they vote -- they vote for -- the white Democrats and -- and the unaffiliated whites for the Democratic candidate at a lower percentage than the black Democrats?

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A. That would be conjectured and then -you know, my guess -- I don't know -- I don't
know if it's -- how much lower it is.

And if you're -- if you're taking, say, white Republicans out of the district and putting white Democrats in, that's a net swing, say, of -- from 20 percent Democratic to 80 percent Democratic of those voters.

That's a pretty big net swing if you take a white Republican out and put a white Democrat in. I guess, the marginal improvement would be another -- under this hypothetical, another 15 points if you put a black Democrat in.

- Q. Okay. What is the -- do you know what
  the Supreme Court of The United States says
  about whether election results or registration
  statistics are a better predictor of actual
  voting conduct?
- A. My recollection from -- this is what come up in Cromartie --
- Q. Unh-hunh (yes).

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9 A. -- is that they said that election in

10 Briar's opinion -- is that right -- was a -
11 I'm trying to remember. I'm not sure I've got

12 the right opinion in mind, but that election

13 results are better predictors or preferred

14 predictors.

My experience analyzing data is that the two are highly correlated.

Q. So, you disagree with the United States Supreme Court?

MR. SPEAS: Objection to form.

A. I'm not disagreeing with them. I'm not disagreeing with them. I'm just saying that the two are highly correlated. So, it could be that -- my practical experience predicting elections is that registration statistics are very useful in predicting elections.

Party -- party registration is a very good predictor of party vote.

- Q. (Mr. Farr) But your experience in doing that has been in working for CBS?
- A. And -- and also doing academic research.
- Q. Okay. But you didn't -- you've never
  been asked to -- to draw a redistricting map
  for a jurisdiction, so that the party that
  hired you would end up with a more favorable
  redistricting plan than the one that was in

place in the previous decade?

A. No.

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- Okav. If the -- if the -- the drawers 13 of the -- of the First District or the Twelfth 14 District were focused on election results and 15 16 trying to draw a stronger Twelfth District, 17 with your knowledge of where the Twelfth District is located, in your opinion, would 18 that result in the Twelfth District having a 19 20 higher black percentage in the 2011 than what 21 it had under the 2001 plan?
  - A. It -- it might; it might not. It

    depends on how much population needed to be

    shifted. My recollection of the statistics was

    that District 12 was overpopulated by 2400

people.

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So, to make that a legal map, if you started with that district as your first district to draw, to make that legal -- if you were doing the least thing possible, you'd remove 2400 people.

And that would have been the extent of the change. So, they -- just conceptually, just looking at the map, from what -- based on what I -- I know, that's one thing I -- you know, that could have been done.

However, the map drawer shifted in -- I don't remember the exact numbers, but it was somewhere around 75,000 people -- shifted out another big chunk of people -- 70 -- 77,000. So, there -- there were a lot of population shifts that happened between the two.

If you started with, kind of, the minimalist approach of just make this an equal population district, and they could zero it out to comply with Baker v. Kerr or with some later cases, like, stop there, or at least that would be my experience.

Q. Okay. Is the -- in your opinion, is the 2011 Twelfth District a stronger performing

Democratic district than the 2001 version?

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- A. I think under either map, the Democrat is almost surely going to win those districts.
- Q. Is it -- which one is he going to win by a higher percentage?
- A. My guess is there's a small -- there
  would be a percentage gain. In terms of data
  analysis at CBS, when we forecast the House,
  we're not going to worry about either one of
  those districts.

Those are safe, safe Democratic districts.

- Q. Right. But -- but -- but is the -- is
  the 2011 version of the Twelfth likely to get a
  higher Democratic vote total for President and
  Congress and other Democratic races than its
  2001 district?
- A. It -- it's likely.
- Q. Okay. What about the surrounding
  districts? Have you studied those to see if
  those districts are better performing districts
  for Republicans as a result of the way the -the Twelfth District was constructed?
  - A. I have not studied the party performance of those districts.
  - Q. Have you studied the party performance of

any of the other districts in the 2001

Congressional Plan other than the First and the

3 Twelfth?

- $\mathbf{A}$ . Just the First and the Twelfth. I mean,
- 5 | I have -- I have to start studying them for CBS
- 6 now. So -- summer is upon me, and the election
- 7 is coming, so --.
- 8 Q. Turn to paragraph 38 of your report.
- 9 And you say that "The VTDs moved into
- 10 | Congressional District 12 are 44.0 percent
- black registration." I'm going to start over
- 12 again with 38.
- 13 I'll just read the whole paragraph.
- <sup>14</sup> A. Okay.
- 15 Q. "The VTDs kept in Congressional District
- 16 | 12 (the Core) -- " and that raises an issue to
- me, because I -- I want you to define to me
- 18 that that means, the Core.
- 19 "The VTDs kept in Congressional District
- 20 | 12 are 54.0 percent black registration and 31.9
- percent white registration. The VTDs moved out
- of Congressional District 12 are 23.2 percent
- 23 black registration and 66.0 percent white
- 24 registration.
- "The VTDs moved into Congressional

District 12 are 44.0 percent black registration and 37.1 white registration. Okay. Are you with me?

- A. Unh-hunh (yes).
- Q. Then you say -- what -- what conclusion of do you reach from that? Is that -- what is that -- what's the significance of that?
- A. So, the net effect is moving VTDs -
  keeping a district -- keeping -- the part of

  the district that was kept in the district

  without being moved in or out, that -- that -
  that's the Core -- is 54 percent black

  registration.

So, it's majority black registration.

That's the part that was left.

Q. Unh-hunh (yes).

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A. And then the net change was to move out

VTDs that were 64 percent white registration

and 23 percent black registration total; and

then to move in VTDs that are 44 percent black

registration and 37 percent white registration.

So, the net swing is to move -- you're moving out VTDs that are disproportionately white; you're moving in VTDs that are somewhat more black.

Page 112 So, the net swing in black registration is 23.2 versus 44.0. Okay. And I -- and I don't know if you've got this in the back or not. But do -do you actually have totals of population that was moved out and in in one of your tables? Or did you just do percentages? That's a good question whether I put the 8 -- I did calculate that at one point. And I was trying to keep the -- I think (peruses 10 document). I mean, I don't -- I don't see 11 12 population. Okay. Do -- do you know where the --13 14 the -- the moved VTDs are located in the district, the ones who were moved out and moved 15 16 in? Did you make a study of that? 17 I studied it in the map. So, I -- I 18 looked at the boundaries of the map to see 19 which areas were being moved, which -- whether 20 there were any county splits that were introduced, whether there were municipal splits 22 and things like that. 24 Okay. And you're familiar with District

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12. And you've got these urban centers in

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Mecklenburg and Guilford County, and then
you've got the corridors that connect them?

- A. Right.
- Q. Do you consider the part of the corridor that was re- -- retained a part of the core of the district? Is that how you defined Core?
- A. Core is the part that's left in, kept in.
- 8 **Q.** Okay.
- A. That's literally what the Core is.
- 10 **Q.** Okay.

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- 11 A. It's not a -- it's not a, kind of,
  12 judgmental term.
- Q. Okay. Now, looking at paragraph 38,

  "The VTDs that moved out were 23 percent black
  registration and 64 percent white registration.

"The ones that were moved in were 44

percent black registration and 37.1 white

registration." Did you do any political

analysis of the election results in the VTDs

that were moved out versus the ones that were

moved in?

A. No, I didn't, just -- I -- I studied the
registration. I think I looked at the -- we
had -- the report I had had election results,
but I didn't -- of the VTDs, but I didn't know,

Page 114 like, which voters vote for -- I just knew vote 2 share for, say, Obama. But I didn't know if it was the black vote, the -- you know, what percentage of that 5 was the blacks voting which way, or the Democrats. So, I stuck with the individual level 8 analysis to avoid, kind of, the inferential problem of predicting, you know, what 9 10 percentage of the vote for those was coming from blacks and whites. 11 Okay. So -- well, do you -- well, do 1.2 Q. you have an opinion on -- if we just looked at 13 the VTDs that were moved out of Congressional District 12 versus the ones that were moved in, 15 16 would you -- would you have an opinion on whether the ones that mo- -- were moved out had 17 a higher percentage of vote for McCain than the 18 districts that were moved in to District 12? 19 No, not -- not offhand, no. 20 You didn't look at that? I think I did look at it, but it's not 22 in the reports. 24 Okay. It's not something I would -- I would 25

testify on.

moved in?

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2 Q. Well, looking at the -- at the

registration figures where the -- the districts

moved out were 23.2 percent black and 64.0

percent white, and then you compare that to the

44 percent black that were moved in and -- with

37.1 percent white, based upon your knowledge

of voting patterns by blacks versus whites,

wouldn't it be reasonable to assume that McCain

performed better in the districts that were

moved out than he did in the ones that were

- A. That would be my prediction.
- Q. Okay. And wouldn't it be reasonable to
  assume that other Republican candidates
  performed better in the districts that were
  moved out than the ones that were moved in?
- 18 A. That would be my prediction, too.
- Q. Okay. And that same answer would apply
  if we looked at this from a voting age
  population perspective?
- A. Yes. It gets a little complicated,
  because one of the other groups is not
  mentioned in here. Hispanics, we don't know
  what the registration rate of those is and so

forth, but --.

Q. Okay.

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- A. And again, you have to make some
- 4 projections. And there are some classic
- 5 problems with making projections where in some
- 6 | counties the whites who are closest to the
- 7 | blacks are the -- you know, voting --
- 8 residentially are the ones who are voting the
- 9 most strongly opposite to the blacks.
- But then the whites that are farther away
- are not. That's a classic article from Jerry
- Wright in the 1970s. So, it depends on -- I
- 13 quess it depends on which whites.
- 14 | Q. Okay. Oh, I'll add something I forgot
- 15 to ask you. Do you know what is meant by point
- 16 | contiguity?
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. What does that mean?
- 19 A. So, if you have a -- if you have a VTD
- 20 here and a VTD here, and they just touch at one
- point, you've got point contiguity.
- 22 Q. Okay. Do you know what's meant by the
- term -- it's been called various things down
- here, but one of the terms it's been called is
- 25 | double point contiguity.

Page 117 Have you ever heard of that before? I haven't heard of double point contiguity. Okay. Or criss-cross contiguity? Have you ever heard of that? I -- I've heard of criss-cross contiguity, but -- like, I don't --What -- what is that? -- fully -- I don't fully understand that. What's criss-cross contiguity as far as 1.0 you know? 12 So, I've -- the one reference I saw that comes to mind was where you've got two -- two 13 -- two -- let me get an example. 14 So -- so, the point would be just like 15 16 any -- any -- any corner touching at least two VTDs. The criss-cross would be a -- my 17 understanding, it was a form of point 19 contiguity. But it's, like -- it has to do with the 20 -- the shape of the boundary that's connecting. 21 22 If a -- if a jurisdiction used point contiguity, could that affect the compactness 23 scores on a Reock test? 24 It depends -- depends on the shape. So,

Page 118 if the district actually bent around -- back around itself --Unh-hunh (yes). -- then the inscribed circle -- the inscribed circle wouldn't capture the bending back. So, that wouldn't necessarily affect it. The area to perimeter ratio would reflect 8 that. Okay. 0. That's one -- one of the examples of why 10 you'd want to look at both as, kind of, indicators of what's going on with the district 1.2 13 shapes. Okay. But it's pos- -- is it possible 1.4 that the use of point contiguity could have an 15 16 impact on a Reock test? It's possible if I took a district here, 17 and I stuck another district on top with just a point connecting them, then by virtue of 19 elongating the district and reducing the total 20 area covered, that -- that would be an example 21 22 where it could, but --. Okay. All right. I've skipped a 23 paragraph I want to ask you about, paragraph 24 This -- this -- we're talking about the

Page 119 same question I just asked you about Congressional 12. I want to ask you about Congressional District 1. You can see in your -- in paragraph 29 you say that "The VTDS moved out of Congressional District 1 are 27.4 percent black registration and 66.7 percent white registration." Do you see that? Correct. "The VTDs moved into Congressional 10 District 1 are 48.1 percent black registration 11 and 37.7 percent white registration"? 12 13 Correct. Okay. Would it be fair to assume that the VTDs moved out of Congressional District 1 15 when the 2011 version was created performed better for McCain than the VTDs that were moved 17 into the district? 18 That -- that would be my guess just 19 blindly on the basis of these statistics and 20 the correlation between race and -- and party. But again, it depends on which whites, so 22 Okay. Would -- would -- would it be 24 fair to assume that other Republican candidates

Page 120 performed better in the VTDs that were moved out of Congressional District 1 as compared to the VTDs that were moved into Congressional District 1? That -- again, that would be my 5 prediction. But again, it depends on which 6 whites and hispanics and other -- others. Okay. Would you be able to determine that by looking at election results? Election results, registration -- those are the data that would be helpful. 11 But you agree election results would be Q. 13 helpful? Α. Yes. 15 MR. FARR: Can I take a short break? (SHORT BREAK 2:50 - 2:59 P. M.) 16 (Mr. Farr) Okay. Professor, I wanted 17 Q. to ask you about your second report. And --18 Before I move on to my second report, 19 can I make one change in my --20 21 Sure, you're always able to do that. So, Dr. Hofeller pointed out something to 22 correct -- there is an error I made in 23 tabulation on paragraph 18. It should be 19 24 25 counties; not 18.

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And it should be "splits nine of the ten
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    counties." I just miscounted. I was counting
    by hand from the Excel spreadsheet. And I just
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          We'll give you that one.
    Α.
          Okay.
          No problem.
    Q.
          Time for new reading glasses, I guess.
          I just want to ask you -- I hope I can
    get -- I'm not going to go all through your
    second report. It's -- it speaks for itself.
11
          But I -- you made some effort in this --
12
    in the second report to try to --
13
                 MR. SPEAS: This is Exhibit 10?
14
15
                 MR. FARR: I'm sorry, yes, Eddie,
    thank you, Exhibit 10.
16
          (Mr. Farr) Did -- you made an effort to
17
    try to predict election results in your -- in
18
    Exhibit 10, is that right?
          Well, there's a correlation between the
20
    election data, the voting -- at the voting
    tabulation district and the registration data.
2.2
23
          Explain that to me.
          It's not an attempt to actually predict
24
    the election results. The question is whether
25
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or not registration and -- and voting are
highly related to each other; and therefore,
whether registration is a good indicator of
likely performance of the -- of the district,
or whether or not -- you know, if you analyzed
registration, you'd get essentially the same
conclusions or close to the same conclusions as
analyzing elections.

Q. Did that assessment that you did include an assessment of accounting for unaffiliated voters?

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- A. Unaffiliated voters are included in that measure of registration.
- Q. Okay. Again, how did you predict how the unaffiliated voters were going to vote?
- A. It's not a prediction about how the unaffiliated voters are going to vote. It's just a correlation between the percent vote -- of the two-party vote and the correlation and -- and the percent of the registration that's Democrat or Republican or unaffiliated.

So, the higher the Democratic percent, the -- in registration, the higher the Democratic percent in vote. And that degree of correlation is quite high -- around .8 or

Page 123 higher was my recollection of the numbers. Could you point that part of your report out to me? Because this -- this is something that I really didn't understand, which is why I'm asking you questions about it. Α. Okay. Where is this in your report? Table -- page 5. Α. Q. Okay. Paragraph 16, 17, 19. 10 Okay. So, I'm looking at 17. And you 11 Q. 12 said --I --14 I'm sorry? Sorry, go ahead. 16 Anything else? 17 A. No, no. I didn't mean to interrupt you. It's --18 19 so, and you said Table 5? I didn't say a table, but yeah, I think 20 21 that's the right one -- Table 2? No, Table 1. 22 Okay. So, you -- you correlated 23 Democratic registration -- black Democratic registration and VAP against the Obama vote? 24 25 Is that what you did?

- A. Right. When I said .8, I was
  remembering the black and white registration;
  not the -- so, I correlated black registration
  versus the Obama vote and white registration
  other than party registration.
- So, I just forgot which number I was looking at.
- Q. Okay. And then did you do the same
  thing for black VAP and white VAP in the Obama
  vote?
- 11 A. Yes.
- Q. Okay. Did you look at any other races
  besides the Obama race?
- 14 A. In this -- in this report, I only looked 15 at the Obama 2008 vote.
- Q. Okay. Is there a correlation between
  black registration and voting for Democratic
  candidates, do you think?
- 19 **A.** Yes.
- Q. Do you think it would be in the same
- range as -- as the Obama correlation?
- 22 **A.** Yes.
- Q. And what about -- is there a correlation
  between black VAP and votes for other Democrats?
- A. Yes, my guess is it's quite high.

- Q. And would it be in the same -- close to
  the same number as -- as for the Obama
  correlation?
  - A. Correct.
- Q. Okay. So, your -- your study shows that
  when you take all three of those things into
  consideration, that blacks are very likely to
  vote for the Democratic candidate?
- 9 A. Correct, and -- and particularly for
  10 Obama. I was looking at the Obama '08 vote.
- Q. Right. And that includes registered black
  Democrats and unaffiliated blacks, right?
- 13 A. Correct.
- Q. And with the VAP would also include some degree -- to some degree, Republican blacks?
- 16 A. Correct.
- Okay. And then I wanted to ask you,
- have you -- I know you've looked at Dr.
- 19 Hofeller's report?
- 20 A. Yes.
- Q. Is there anything that he added
  incorrectly or any data that -- that he didn't
  quote accurately? I'm not asking you to agree
  with his conclusions, but did you find any

errors? Mathematical errors or things he

```
Page 126
    reported that were not correct?
1
          I found no mathematical errors or in- --
2
3
    incorrect reports.
         Okay. Let me look real quickly here.
    Q.
5
                 MR. FARR: I think I'm done.
                                                Thank
    you, sir.
          Thank you.
    Α.
                 MR. SPEAS: Can we have just a
8
    minute?
9
10
                 MR. FARR: Sure.
                 (SHORT BREAK 2:50 - 3:01 P. M.)
11
                 MR. SPEAS: We have no questions.
12
                 (WITNESS EXCUSED.)
13
     (FURTHER DEPONENT SAITH NOT AT 3:01 P. M.)
14
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Case 1:13-cv-00949-WO-JEP Document 68-5 Filed 06/02/14 Page 65 of 65